821 772 without the stars of the hook on the tail. It stood along the ostrich's path and he threatened to knock it down, but it begged to be spared since it would kill many people if it fell to the earth. Accordingly, the ostrich passes close beside this palm.

Another constellation near the galaxy, which I was never able to grasp, is called kapúre (= jahó, *Tinamus* sp.).

In Magellanic Cloud they see Anké's ashes (p. 245).

821 789 Against lightning, which they greatly fear because of its frequently observed effects on steppe trees, they resort to magic. A native will put the leaves of olho de boi (ropnto, jaguar eye) on his head and wave them toward the thunderstorm, saying, "mekričwąye, amekaprinare witáiye!"

821 772 The Krẽyé of Bacabal have a tale in which the storm figures as a tapir. The same story was heard among the descendants of the Gamella of Vianna.[xx]

The rainbow (tanyõčwụdn, person of the rain) has its two ends resting in the open mouths of two sucuriju snakes, which themselves yield rain. It appears as a sign that the rain has ceased. When the rainbow disappears, two eel-like fish, pụpeyre (Neobrax.: muçum), rise to the sky, where they drop into a water hole. When there is a heavy rain they again drop back into the terrestrial water. One informant said that snakes ascended to the sky by the rainbow lest there be too many here on earth.

In the sky dwell carrion vultures under their chief, the king vulture, and falcons. They have human shape there, organize log races and celebrate festivals.

There is an underworld (ikrakripyẽ). According to a tale a man hunting an armadillo broke through the ground, tumbling into the underworld. "When he turned round, he noticed that he was on a steppe, but round about no living being was to be seen, not even a bird; everything near and far was still." The Šerénte tell a similar story, which they connect with their kwiudẽ'udá racing logs, which they derive from said armadillo.

Animism

● 774 775 Every human being and every animal has a soul. Plants "perhaps" also have a soul, but theirs plays no part. At death the soul leaves the body through the mouth; nobody knows how and where it enters the body. The soul of a dead person, the distinct shadow cast by him, and his image are all called mekarõ. I have no evidence for belief in a temporary departure of the soul from a living body. Contrary to Apinayé theory, sickness is not imputed to temporary soul loss,[xx] and the medicine-man's shadow is not supposed to roam about in order to learn what is going on at a distance. Accordingly, during a man's lifetime his soul does not play an independent role of practical significance.

775 [771] It becomes all the more prominent after death; indeed, communion with the souls of the dead is the most conspicuous part of Eastern Timbira religion and forcibly struck Pohl among the Põrekamekra:

> Auch hier [i.e. in the cemetery for secondary burial] besuchen die Indianer noch oft die Grabhügel ihrer entschlafenen Lieben und erzählen ihnen alle Vorfallenheiten, fest überzeugt, dass die Verstorbenen sie hören und Anteil nehmen können. Diese Sitte erschien mir stets sehr rührend, und ich gestehe, dass ich oft innig bewegt diese guten Menschen so an den Gräbern sitzen sah.

However, I never observed this form of devotion near the graves. Further, I have neither discovered a belief in everlasting rewards or punishments, such as Pohl ascribes to these natives, nor ever heard that a soft rustling noise revealed the approach of the spirits.

The spirits of the dead usually reside in village-like communities in the localities

[xx] Nimuendajú, Vokabular und Sagen der Crengêz, 635; The Gamella, 13.
[xx] The Apinayé, 144.

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where they lived or were buried, that is, especially on old camp sites and in cemeteries, the will-o'-the-wisps occasionally rising from the ground of the latter being conceived as the spirits' camp fires. However, at times the souls also appear singly and in other places. Otherwise inexplicable shouting (mekaprêp), such as occasionally resounds at night in steppes and woods, is ascribed to roaming spirits. Another abode is below the water of the Lake Kukąmóroča (p. 249).

Apart from some peculiarities due to their shadowy character, the souls lead an existence very similar to that of the living. They are neither more nor less happy. The spirits of old people, such as parents, grandparents and the grandparents' siblings, are credited with greater knowledge than is within the ken of the living; some declare that they know "everything." Accompanying their living relatives, they protect them wherever possible, drive away poisonous snakes from their path, and appear to them in waking hours or dreams in order to warn them against misfortune. Normally they are invisible; but if they so desire they can turn visible even in the middle of the day, either in their mortal shape or in some beast's. At night their sudden appearance, as a rule of but momentary duration, strikes terror into the visionary's heart, so that he will remain ill for days—notwithstanding the fact that these spirits are not hostile to man.

The story of Yawę' (p. 246) gives a tolerably clear picture of the relations between the living and the dead. The hero receives every kind of aid from the spirits and through intimate contact with them ultimately acquires the power to transform himself into an animal.

Around a dying Indian's bed the spirits of his deceased kin assemble. Sometimes, even some time before he breathes his last, they will persuade him to adopt their customs, to cease eating and speaking. These spirits accompany the corpse to the grave and, rejoicing to have the person in their midst now, they will conduct his soul to its new resting place. Souls of sucking babes are taken by a maternal uncle or corresponding kinsman. On the way to the hereafter the soul gets to a brook bridged by a thin, swaying tree; if the soul should slip off, it will be converted into an aquatic animal.

In general the relations between the living and the dead are wholly individual, but in the ketúaye they assume tribal character (p. 171). Here there are involved the totality of prospective initiates and the entire company of souls of the dead. As explained, it is difficult to get an explicit interpretation of this relationship from the present-day Indians, who obviously are not quite clear on the point. However, I cannot doubt that the principal object of the festival is to establish contact of the boys with the spirits. With reference to the last celebration, in 1934, which I was unfortunately unable to attend, an authoritative informant explained: "When the ketúaye sing in the spirit language [the ayų'k chant], the spirits approach, wishing to take away their shadow-souls. If they succeeded, the individuals in question would die at once. That is why the boys' kinswomen sit behind the boys with hands on their shoulders, while their kinsmen stand in the rear."

Magic

The sun worship of these people is not connected with magic, or at least can do without it. In the instances on pages 131–132 one prayer is uttered accompanied by the magical use of urucú, while the other has no association with magic at all. The prayers themselves are wholly devoid of magical import. On the other hand, animism and magic are intimately linked. The tale of Yawę' illustrates the derivation of curative and magical knowledge from the spirits. Persons evincing ability and

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inclination for such communion are called kái, and their principal function is to cure and ward off disease. Of the Pŏrekamekra, Pohl writes:

> Sie haben in den Pflanzen ihrer heimatlichen Wälder durch Erfahrung mehrere Heilkräuter kennen gelernt, welche sie nun bey vorkommende n Fällen anwenden. So vertreiben sie z. B. das Fieber mit einer Dorstenia fol. rodunativ. Die Syphilis, welche leider häufiger vorkommt als man vermuten sollte, ... wird blos mit häufigem Waschen behandelt. Ophthalmie zeigte sich auch sehr häufig; gegen dieses Uebel sowie gegen Schlangenbisse sollen sie auch Arcana besitzen. Zur Heilung von Wunden wird der gekaute (!) Samen der Bixa brasiliensis [= urucú] verwendet. Zauberformeln fehlen bei diesen abergläubischen Menschen natürlich ebenfalls nicht. Segensprechungen, Zauberformeln und dergleichen werden sehr oft in ihren Krankheiten verwendet.[355]

This last method I have never witnessed.

Snethlage possibly rates Timbira medical lore too highly, but his text does not indicate which tribe he has in mind.[356] Ribeiro says:

> Curam geralmente as suas enfermidades com a sangria, e com o semente de urucú: A sangria fazem-a com uma navalha de canna verde a que chamam taboca.
>
> (In general they cure sickness by blood-letting and with urucú seeds. They let blood with a little knife of green cane called taboca.)[357]

Thus this author does not mention a blood-letting bow, as Snethlage assumes. Of all the Timbira tribes the Apinayé is the only one among whom I found this implement.

Medical lore is little developed among the Canella. The children rarely wear remedies and amulets attached to necklaces, wrist cords, or girdle cords. Since pretty nearly everyone tries his own luck at doctoring when sick, the medicine-man's role is rather subordinate. There are no pathological theories comparable to those of the Apinayé.[358] The Canella views are vacillating and confused, so that they have more confidence in Neobrazilian treatment than in their own. An enormous number of plant species yield roots, bark, and leaves for medicinal infusions, which are sometimes filtered with a wad of cotton through spirally twisted palm leaflets. During a seventeen-kilometer ride with me, Kentapí from the back of a horse pointed out some twenty steppe plants on the way and indicated their medicinal use. With such remedies, so far as I was able to learn, they attempt to cure themselves and others without following any true plan.

The manifold magico-medical application of urucú has been noted (p. 52). Another plant employed in this dual role in cases of sickness, particularly in epidemics, is the sucupira tree; the strong and odorous oil of the seeds is smelled against all conceivable diseases, especially catarrhs. Threatening epidemics are warded off by smoking oneself with the incense of the burnt green foliage of this tree or by lashing oneself with its twigs. This use rests on no medicinal virtues, but on the magical attributes of the tree, regarded by all Timbira as the symbol of strength and resistance. Another means for acquiring the toughness requisite for long begging journeys under unusual circumstances is to swallow several small grains of rolled quartz about 3 mm. in diameter from the sand of a creek.

Conjunctivitis is treated by washing the eyes with water into which the molten rosin of the jutahy tree (*Hymenaea* sp.) has been allowed to drip. Against muscular and articular pains the Indians apply an epiphyte (prĭkanyĭ'; Neobraz.: sumaré) which is steamed in hot ashes. When children at the breast fall ill, both parents drink an infusion from the bark of a steppe bush, mekakę're. The scraped bark of a small steppe tree called pekĕ'parkóp serves as a remedy for scabies, wounds on the ear loop, and head lice. Sometimes powdered charcoal is rubbed into

[355] Pohl, Reise, 2:197.
[356] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 185.
[357] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 16.
[358] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 144 *et seq.*